

A COMMISSION ON THE RACE PROBLEM, By Jesse Lawson

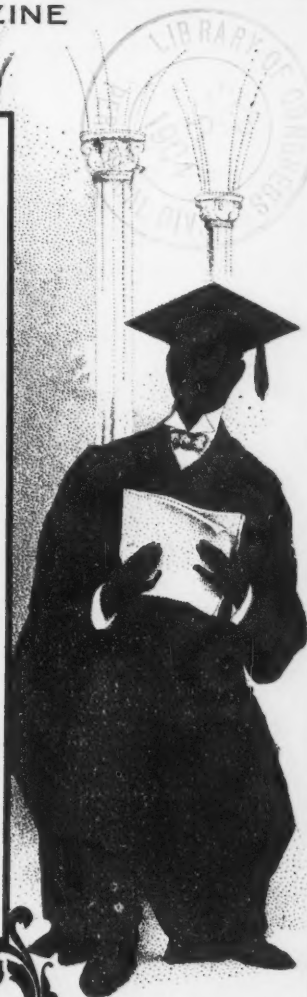
THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE

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SEPTEMBER, 1904

\$1.00 A YEAR.

A MONTHLY ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE
DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF
THE COLORED RACE.



ROSCOE CONKLING BRUCE

See Page 587

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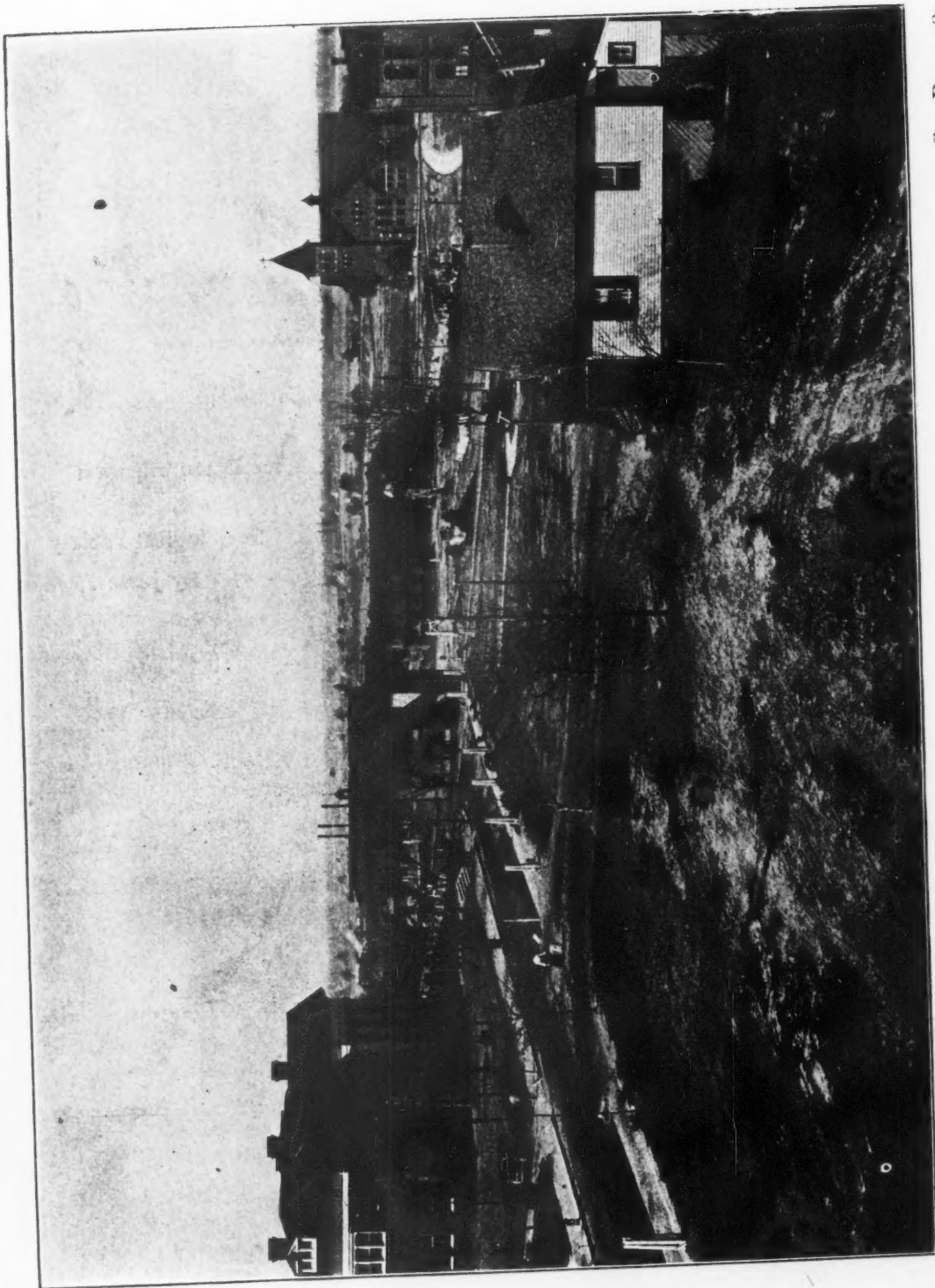
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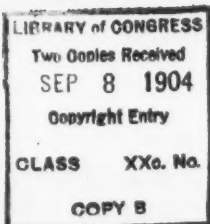
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THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE.

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SEPTEMBER, 1904.

NO. 9.

THE WAY OF THE WORLD

THE article in the COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE for July, by Mr. Fortune, entitled, "False Theory of Education Cause of Race Demoralization," has attracted much attention and discussion. We have been gratified to find that, so far, few persons have differed from the main contention laid down by the writer, that a person, whether he has secured his education by his own means or efforts or by the good consideration of philanthropic persons, can have much success in lifting up others until he has first lifted up himself. A race of educated men devoting their time and talents to the herculean task of lifting up their fellows and neglecting entirely the supreme business of lifting up themselves, have only a basis in poverty to build upon, and by the nature of the case must develop a race of beggars and hypocrites who cannot respect themselves (and what beggar can, of whatever race?) and who cannot command the respect of mankind. This is a principle of social ethics which has universal application, and has done much to systematize the charity of mankind, so that only the needy and deserving may receive assistance, and idleness, thriftlessness and viciousness be not encouraged, to the hurt

of society at large, in the great mass of the people, by indiscriminate giving. From this point of view are we to regard the concentration of effort and financial support for the work of education, especially in the Southern States, so that we have now some five National bodies of that character, which do not invade each others' fields of operations, where, a few years ago, each individual engaged in that field of work was regarded and treated as a beggar, a necessary evil, who got all he could and applied as much or as little as he pleased to the work under his charge; with the result that neither he nor his work appreciably grew in any direction and the entire work of education was brought into disrepute, because of the irresponsible character of its agents. This fact was brought into strong relief by a wealthy New Yorker, some ten years ago, in conversation with the writer, when he said:

Begging Preacher or Educator?

"I am known to be a friend of your people and a liberal giver to the Southern educational work, and I have suffered much persecution on account of it. I never see a colored man come into my office without feeling that I am to be held up. It is always a begging preacher or

educator, and I invariably ask: 'Well, which is it—preacher or educator?' It will be a good thing for your people when they can support their own institutions, with only such assistance, of course, as goes to like institutions of other races, in the general run of giving. Under the present system your race is very much discredited and damaged among thoughtful people. The educated men among you are getting the character of being beggars by wholesale and the great mass paupers, unwilling or too poor to help their own institutions. Now, beggars and paupers are not respected by anybody, and it is not at all a question of race." This view of the matter appealed very strongly to the writer at the time, and it grew upon him, as the evils of the system grew. Self-help is the very basis of individual and race development and progress. Outside influences and assistance can be of little avail if this quality is lacking. Mankind will not work, if it can get along without doing so, because work, in the very nature of it, is a matter of self-preservation, and when that has been accomplished, for the time being, the majority of mankind will wait for the pinch of appetite or the bite of cold weather before making another physical effort. It is not a race trait, but a common trait.

Southern View of Self-Help

This whole question raised by Mr. Fortune has been discussed with so much appreciation, sympathy and catholicity by the DALLAS (Tex.) MORNING NEWS, the strongest newspaper in the South-western States and one of the strong and clean newspapers of the Republic, that we feel justified in reproducing it here, that the whole argument may be the

more fully impressed upon the readers of this magazine. THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS says:

"This is a great country for reformers who are bent on uplifting others—sometimes before they are able to either lift or hold themselves up. The land is teeming with heady people, who are eager to tell the millions just how to do something which they themselves have not been able to do. Almost every male graduate is an Atlas, shouldering the world; but in all too many instances somebody else must hold the spoon to his own mouth while he pulls off his wonderful feat. It may not be quite as bad when it comes to the female graduates, but even they are now carrying torches to save the race from darkness, and incidentally to set the world on fire.

"Thomas Fortune, in the COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE, notes the effect which this fad for 'uplifting' others is having upon the minds of Negroes, and proves in a very plain statement of facts that the fad is based upon fancy and not upon common sense. He declares that the mania for "up-lifting the race" is having a demoralizing influence upon those who are told that their duty lies in doing something in a grand way for their colored brethren who are lacking in education and upon those who are supposed to be the beneficiaries in prospect of these labors. 'That the Indian and Afro-American have been the victims of this false theory of education, which is not hitched upon any other element of the American citizenship, is due,' says he, 'wholly to the fact that the education has been designed, directed and paid for, for the most part, by good people, worthy of all praise, who regard the Indian and Afro-American people as a peculiar people, not like other people, who require peculiar standards of education, as they are to occupy a peculiar place in the life of American citizenship. When the products of this theory come in close contact with the every-day exactions of society, they find they are not prepared for them, there being nothing peculiar about them, a uniformity of requirement prevailing from bootblackening to bookkeeping, and from bookkeeping to dominating administrative positions.'

Sisyphus and His Task.

"The point is illustrated by relating an ex-

perience at the graduating exercises at Hampton Institute. The principal addresses by graduates on this occasion were by an Afro-American and an Indian from the Onondaga reservation near Syracuse. 'I shall go out from these sacred walls with one great idea uppermost in my mind,' said the Afro-American. 'I shall go back and mingle with my people and devote my life to lifting them up. I shall seek to give to them the knowledge which I have gathered here, for the first rule of every educated man's conduct should be to do what he can to lift up his people.' The Indian also said he was going back to the Onondaga reservation to devote his life to 'lifting up his people.' Then Mr. Fortune proceeds to harpoon the system of which he complains as being demoralizing by asking wherein the young colored man from the South was competent to carry out his grand idea of helping multitudes. He went to Hampton without money, was assisted all through his course by Northern philanthropy, the very clothes in which he was graduated had been given to him, and the car fare with which he was to get back home to begin his 'uplifting' of his race was sent to him by relatives almost as poor as himself, but who had worked hard to get the money for his transportation. 'I have never heard of the student since,' says Mr. Fortune, 'and I dare say he is still tugging away at the impossible task of lifting up his race, instead of tugging away at building up his own character and fortunes. The Indian's car fare had been paid by the Federal Government, which has always been more generous to red Indian than to the black African; his tuition, food and clothing had been paid for by the Government, and the ticket on which he traveled back to his home will have been paid for by the Government also. How could a man, even a proud Indian, so circumstanced and hedged about, get it into his head, except by a false theory of education, that he could lift up his race or anybody else before he had first lifted up himself? He started out in life with his head twisted by the false idea which would hamper all his efforts and, more than likely, frustrate them one by one, until he should round out the number of his days a soured old man because he had made a failure of his life in all that he had prized most in the basic philosophy of his education.'

Professional Uplifters

"Commenting on this timely criticism of a system of education which begins and ends with a misdirected charity or paternalism and by which self-help is actually discouraged, it has been well said that, 'in this criticism there is certainly the basis of truth, and it should lead to a modification of the common idea that the mere acquisition of the higher book education of itself gives authority and power to an individual. What the student, black or white, most needs is to learn to acquit himself with credit as an individual, able to take care of himself before he assays to teach others. In other words, the basis of the education given to the colored folk, as to the white youth, should be to make them independent of others and able to hold a place created by themselves among the workers of the world. A man, no matter what his book learning, is only a poor thing unless he has self-reliance and independence. And until he has acquired such it is a spectacle for gods and men to see him in the role of a teacher and 'uplifter' of others who in character and ability to hold their own without the dispensation of charity are probably his superiors.'

"It is true not only of the Indian and Negro 'uplifters,' but of many of the professional 'uplifters' in white skins. The inability and unwillingness of some of them to support themselves is notorious. They adhere as leeches to the bent backs of those whom they are determined, in the name of education, to 'uplift.' They are professional 'uplifters' who have never learned to stand alone. Some of the most conspicuous and ridiculous exemplifications of this kind of education are found among the Negroes, where even the sharp 'Negro pension' agent or the well dressed fellow who collects from each a dollar to pay his or her passage back to Africa is not the most deceitful or worthless of the 'lifters;' but there are 'helpers' of the same kind, only of a better caste, abroad among the whites. There is a world of 'uplifting' to do, every day, everywhere; but it is not the professional hand at the business, whom others have fed and clothed, and educated and who does not know how to tote his own skillet, who must be depended upon to perform this difficult part of the work."

BREAD AND BUTTER ARGUMENT

THE bread and butter argument is closely related to the question of education. Indeed, there can be no high and wise living in the absence of high and wise education,—education that teaches people how to live to the best advantage, by enabling them to take from Nature in the easiest and most economical way the things necessary for their sustenance and comfort, for economy is nowhere taught more thoroughly than in the great school of Nature, as science has unfolded it to us. If the education of a people is defective their living will be defective. Work is the basis of living, and there can be no intelligent living without intelligent work. That is the main reason why some nations are prosperous and others poor, why some people are wealthy and others impecunious; not that the money-saving faculty requires a high order of culture, for at bottom mere money-making and saving requires a low order of intelligence, which is never able, in the larger sense, to enjoy the leisure and the pleasures wealth makes possible. This question of leisure, which wealth alone can make possible, is one of the most important in the life of a people. We are too young to have any wealthy class, and therefore we have no leisure class. The race problem begins and ends right in this proposition. Wealth gives leisure for the development of the higher phases of life, for the cultivation of its æsthetic side, while commanding and enforcing involuntary respect from the great mass of mankind, who were born poor and will always die poor, the dreams of the Social Democracy to the

contrary notwithstanding, for improvidence appears to be the ruling factor in the economic structure of mankind, of all races, and especially of the Afro-American people. But in all races there is a saving remnant, the survival of the fittest, which draws unto itself the bulk of the wealth and leisure of society, if not all of its culture. With the masses of mankind everywhere the bread and butter argument is always present as the overshadowing one. Perhaps it will always remain that way, furnishing the the necessary friction, for the most part, required in the gradual processes of social evolution, for if all people were born rich there would be no progress but rather social degeneracy.

Basic Employments

The Afro-American people are beginning to face the industrial conditions which the writer forewarned them was coming, in his work, "Black and White" published in 1887. Their right to make a living in the basic employments of society is being questioned on every hand, and the number of such employments is being narrowed constantly. The labor unions have done what they could to keep the race out of these employments, and those not skilled in character which the unions control, because related in some sort to the skilled trades,—such as coal mining, construction work, and the like. It is a remarkable and pitiable thing to go over the list of employments which the race enjoyed in New York City twenty years ago, and are now no longer open to it, except in isolated instances, where individuals have come over as any other asset of the business or estate, and whose places are filled by white persons as fast as they "pass out

to sea." This has been the case with bank messengers, janitors of office buildings, restaurant waiters, coachmen and domestic servants and hotel employees. Twenty years ago Afro-Americans had practically, a monopoly of the labor in all of these occupations; this was especially true of janitor, domestic and hotel service. Gradually black and colored people have been replaced by white persons, Europeans for the most part, but from where they came does not matter. One pleasant Sunday afternoon, not long ago, Dr. Washington and the writer strolled up Fifth avenue, one of the fashionable thoroughfares of the world, from Forty-second street to Sixtieth street. The avenue was thronged with the wealth and fashion of the world. Thousands of vehicles rolled to and fro. The brilliancy, animation and fascination of the scene would have taxed the descriptive powers of William Makepeace Thackeray. But in all that pageantry, along all that thoroughfare—as driver or proprietor of the vehicle, as owner or servant of the residential palace by the way—there was no black or colored face to be seen, save ours! And we discoursed long and sadly of the strange thing we had seen, for it was tragical to us, as representing the industrial displacement of the race in a lucrative field of employment on the one hand and as the negation of the race on the other as a social and financial factor in the life of New York, of the New World, which is fast coming to dominate the money exchanges and the fashionable salons of the world. They who, for whatever causes, have no place in the life of these are poor indeed.

A Man of the Old School

There died, recently in New York, a

man of the old school, who came out of the South in the long ago. He possessed the invaluable faculties of doing well the thing his hands found to do, whether it was of much or little consequence, and knew how to make the most of his opportunities, whether great or small. This man was James R. Braxton. For a quarter of a century he was janitor of a down-town office building. He had an unusual opportunity to make good money and he had unusual opportunities to spend all he made. He made the money and kept it and by judicious investments greatly increased it, so that when he died those who knew him well say that he left an estate valued at \$75,000. And he raised and educated a family of three boys and two girls, one of the latter a teacher in the public schools of New York City. If he had been born under a whiter star, or in times further removed from the conditions of slavery, he may have been one of the world's captains of industry, for he knew how to make money and how to keep it. He had an opportunity in a small way, according to Bradstreet's way of rating, but he made the most of it, while maintaining a reasonable interest and activity in the social and religious phases of life. But when this man died the great office building of which he had charge as janitor for so many years passed to the care of a white man. And there have been hundreds of displacements in the pass twenty years, by death or otherwise. Not many of them were as wise in the thrifty faculty as Mr. Braxton, and some of them died in comparative poverty, after a long life of social entertainment and pleasures. As a matter of fact and record, there remain

but very few Afro-American janitors in New York. Was it prejudice that drove them out, or neglect of their responsibilities, or vaunting of the money they made easily and spent easier?

Like Condition General

As it has been in domestic and janitor service in New York so also it has been in the other occupations referred to in the beginning of this article, notably in hotel and restaurant service. The Negro headwaiter has disappeared from the hotel service of New York City and the waiters have gone with him. The loss of this occupation and that of domestic service has been a positive misfortune to the men and women of the race in New York. Indeed, the choice of occupation has steadily narrowed, so that it would be difficult to say how the large Afro-American population of the Metropolis manages to keep soul and body together, especially when the high price of living, of which rent is the most considerable item, is taken into account. And yet the people put on a brave front, maintain magnificent church corporations and get more than their share of pleasures and social dissipations going and coming. On the surface of things they do not appear to suffer appreciably by the remorseless tendency to circumscribe their bread-winning occupations. What is true of New York in this respect is true of all the large cities of the North and West. St. Louis can even be included in the list, as it was but recently that the writer saw a categorical list of occupations which had passed from the reach of Afro-Americans in that city. Chicago is a storm center, as it has received a larger number of accessions to its Afro-American population, perhaps,

than any other city of the North or West. What Boston used to be to them as a city of refuge Chicago has become; but with the increase of this population there has been no enlargement of the avenues in which it can make a living, but the reverse, and there has been a steady growth in the character and scope of prejudice based on color and condition,—the same as in New York City, Boston and Philadelphia. How all this is to be met and coped with is a living question which presses more and more urgently for an answer, as the police records more than the charity bureaus show; for it is in evidence in New York, at least, that these people do not apply for charity, as a general thing, and except as a last resort. They suffer and brave it out among themselves, on the poor but proud theory, perhaps.

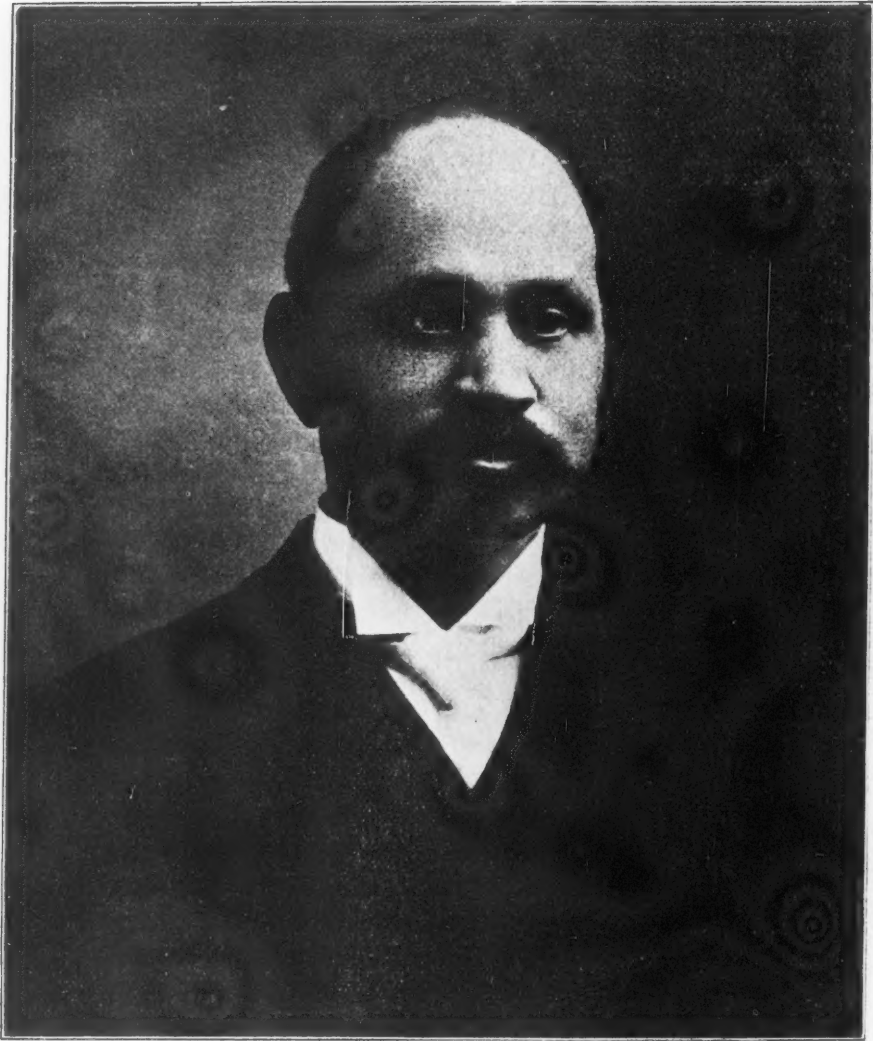
What Census Statistics Show

In a broader way the statistics just furnished by the Federal Census Bureau show that there has been a steady falling off in the number of Negroes employed in the skilled trades. White artisans, of their own motion or by motion of the trades union, are crowding them hard if not out. It must by the nature of the case be a contest to the finish, as no race of the number of Afro-Americans can live and prosper only as unskilled laborers, with pressing competition even in the unskilled labor field. The demand for industrial education finds its strongest argument in the condition in the skilled trades disclosed by the Federal Census, and which must be met with men thoroughly equipped to do the work, and who will work, if we are not to be driven to the wall. The situation is sufficiently serious and menacing to give great con-

cern to those who have at heart the welfare of the race. No amount of sophomoric discussion over the relative merits of higher and industrial education will obliterate the fact that we need more men in the industrial trades, and must have them, in order to fill the places of those who fall by the wayside and the pressure of ostracism in the trades and the usual competition where every self-respecting man is seeking to make the best living possible in the easiest way possible for himself and those dependent upon him. From the ground up it is a question of the right to labor and the opportunity to do so. This view of the matter is made all the more distressing because we are, as a race, in such large degree, in the attitude of seeking employment rather than having employment to give. This places us at a terrible disadvantage with employers of labor as well as with the army of employees, the latter having no respect for us because they can expect no benefit from us in the way of employment.

The National Negro Business League is doing something towards showing that this is not entirely the case, on evidence gathered in many quarters. It is becoming more and more evident that we must build up business enterprises of our own to give profitable employment to our own and to create greater respect in the capacity of the race to do things as well as to say things. It is the evidence of things done that convinces mankind even against their will. The example of the Jews everywhere is worthy of study from this point of view; and the systematic industry and saving habit of our Italian population is coming to be no bad sign to conjure by. It is gratifying to know that we are holding our own in agricultural pursuits, as tenant, as proprietor, and as laborer. But we cannot all be farmers, however much health and independence in all directions go along with that life. We need representation in all branches of the national thought and effort, even as we now have it and must labor earnestly to enlarge it.





JESSE LAWSON
President, National Sociological Society

A Commission on the Race Problem

BY JESSE LAWSON

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

THERE are many who hold to the opinion that the creation of a commission, by National authority, to inquire into the condition of the colored people of the United States, is necessarily the first step toward the solution of the American race problem. They argue that the race problem, like all other debatable questions, cannot be settled until a basis of settlement shall have been determined and agreed upon. That it can not be settled by demonstration upon any *à priori* basis, because all of the factors that enter into the solution of the problem are not now known; that to proceed upon an *à priori* basis, would have the effect of keeping the question in the realm of speculation, and indefinitely postponing its settlement; that there must be a practical handling of the subject by scientific methods; that the facts must be ascertained through induction, and that the scope of the investigation, while well-defined and specific, must be broad and comprehensive enough to include all elements that enter as factors into the solution of the problem. The commission must be under Government authority so as to give authenticity to its findings and acts,* and it must be composed of men of both races, and from every section of the country, in or-

der to divest it of the suspicion of partiality.

The race issue in America is an "unsettled question, and unsettled questions have no regard for the repose of nations." This is especially true when the questions at issue are fundamental and basic. Action on them may be postponed for a while, but cannot be indefinitely deferred. It is good for our cause that a righteous settlement of every question of vital interest to the American people is possible under our form of government. The important thing to do is to give the question the proper setting in the appropriate forum, and to follow it up by well-directed, intelligent action, constantly and insistently maintained.

Those who thought that a mixed commission of white and colored men would be the proper tribunal to which to refer the race question for adjustment in all its various phases, caused to be introduced in both Houses of Congress, in the spring of 1902, measures authorizing the creation of a Commission to Inquire into the Condition of the Colored People of the United States. It was the purpose of the promoters of these measures to have the Commission appointed by the President of the United States, and to consist of nine persons, as follows: Three white men from the North, three white men from the South, and three colored men. The duty of the Commission, as defined by the bill, is to investigate and report on the condition of the colored people

* For arguments in support of the proposition to appoint a Commission to Inquire into the Condition of the Colored People—see book entitled: "How to Solve the Race Problem," by Jesse Lawson, pp. 7-18 inclusive, Washington, D. C.: R. Beresford.

under the American Government,—Continental America,—and to recommend measures for the improvement of that condition, with a view to bringing about a more harmonious relation between the races in the United States.

The initiative in the matter was taken by the House Committee on Labor, Hon. John. J. Gardner, of New Jersey, Chairman, with Judge W. R. Warnock, of Ohio, as Chairman of the sub-committee in charge of a bill introduced by Hon. Harvey S. Irwin, of Kentucky, as a basis for action. The situation was thoroughly canvassed. The acts creating the Executive Departments of the Government were read and re-read to ascertain the adaptability of any of said Departments for conducting the proposed investigation; all precedents for the establishment of commissions were carefully considered by the Committee, and every element that was supposed to weigh for or against the creation of the proposed Commission was met and disposed of by the House Committee. The Constitution of the United States was consulted as to the power of Congress to institute an investigation as contemplated by the Kean and Irwin bills. The Committee also required the production of data tending to show the progress of the colored people since the emancipation in 1865. After every requirement had been met, and all of the evidence carefully considered, a favorable report was made to both Houses of Congress.

The history of the progress of the Inquiry Commission is given for the purpose of showing that the matter has been carefully considered by those competent and having authority to pass upon the subject, and that it has grown to its

present proportions, step by step, and did not spring, Minerva-like, "full fledged from the head of Jupiter."

The present attitude of the two great political parties* in the United States, on the race question, has thrown the subject into the arena of public discussion, and no doubt to good purpose;—for favorable action will undoubtedly follow well directed agitation on this all absorbing topic.

As the discussion proceeds the fact will evidently be revealed that there is a very little definite knowledge respecting the true condition of the colored people in the United States, and that the value of the data at hand is greatly impaired because of a lack of verification by scientific tests; that friction between the races arises very largely from ignorance on the part of the white and colored people as to the nature, general make-up, tendencies, and purposes of each other, and

* "We favor such Congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited, and, if such is the case, we demand that representation in Congress and in the Electoral College shall be proportionally reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States."—Republican Platform on which Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for the Presidency, June 23, 1904.

"The race question has brought countless woes to this country. The calm wisdom of the American people should see to it that it brings no more."

"To revive the dead and hateful race and sectional animosities in any part of our country means confusion, distraction of business, and the re-opening of wounds now happily healed. North, South, East and West have but recently stood together in line of battle from the walls of Peking to the hills of Santiago, and as sharers of a common glory and a common destiny we should share fraternally the common burdens."

"We therefore deprecate and condemn the Bourbon-like selfish and narrow spirit of the recent Republican convention at Chicago, which sought to kindle anew the embers of racial and sectional strife, and we appeal from it to the sober common sense and patriotic spirit of the American people."—Democratic Platform on which Alton B. Parker was nominated for the Presidency, July 9, 1904.

that information on these points will have a tendency to bring about a more harmonious relation between the two great races in the United States; that intelligent legislative action on the part of the National Government cannot be taken until the causes of racial friction shall have been ascertained by a thorough investigation conducted by a competent tribunal, under Governmental authority, and composed, in equal parts, of the interested parties.

Warrant for the proposed investigation is found in the Constitution of the United States (See Federal Constitution, Article II, section 3), and it is customary to refer all live American questions of vital importance to a commission for investigation and report as to the best methods of settlement. Why not adopt this method of treatment for the race issue, the most complicated and difficult problem with which the American people have to deal?

While the colored people constitute one-eighth of the entire population of the United States, and representation in Congress is apportioned on the basis of population (See Federal Constitution,

Article I, section 2; Article XIV, section 2), yet these people are wholly deprived of representation in either branch of Congress, notwithstanding the fact that they are counted in determining the Congressional and electoral apportionment among the several States. Under the present basis of representation the colored people would be entitled to about fifty members in the lower branch of Congress, and, at least, fifty votes in the electoral college. Government by the people rests upon the fundamental principle of justice and fair play for all; partiality toward none.

The colored people do not take kindly to the idea of being wholly ignored in the appointment of commissions by the Government. They desire to be seen in their true light, and given the recognition to which they feel they are justly entitled. They believe that a commission ought to be appointed to investigate and consider every phase of the race question, and that such a commission should be composed of representative men of both races, and from every section of the country.



The Supreme Court of the United States and the Alabama Suffrage Case in Equity

BY WILFORD H. SMITH

NOTWITHSTANDING the fact that, in almost every case affecting the Negro since the famous Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court of the United States has held adversely to his interests, still, the decision of that tribunal in the recent Alabama suffrage cases was a great disappointment to the country. The public was disappointed because the decision seemed to be opposed to the well known facts, and the common sense views of the people, and was at variance with their sense of justice and right. No doubt, practically, all the Negroes in Alabama are disfranchised, while practically all the whites are registered and given life certificates,—in the very teeth of the prohibition of the fifteenth amendment; and for the Supreme Court to refuse relief in such a case the people had good reason to be offended. They well might wonder, and ask themselves the question, what is the Supreme Court for, if not to enforce the Federal Constitution?

These were the facts admitted in the record in the case of *Giles vs. Harris*:

First. That the population of Alabama is nearly equal as to whites and blacks.

Second. That the Convention which framed the new Constitution was composed exclusively of white men, and was called for the avowed purpose of disfranchising the Negroes without disfranchising a single white man.

Third. That, under the temporary plan of registration provided by the Constitution, where the qualifications prescribed were, that the applicant must have been a soldier in certain enumerated wars, or the descendant of such soldier, and if not must be a person of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a Republican form of government, over two hundred thousand white men were registered for life, and only about two thousand Negroes throughout the entire State.

Fourth. That the testimony of all Negroes was rejected, and Negro applicants were compelled to produce the testimony of two white men as to their qualifications, while all white men were registered without any evidence except the oath of the applicant. In not a few counties not a single Negro was permitted to register.

Mr. Jackson W. Giles, who had been refused registration on account of his race and color, for himself, and on behalf of more than five thousand Negroes of Montgomery County, similarly situated and qualified, sought, by injunction in the United States Court, to compel the registrars to enter their names on the registration books as qualified electors, and to desist from refusing them registration on account of race and color, as such denial deprived them of the right to vote.

In other words the case was simply this: Negroes who had been electors in Alabama for more than twenty years, found that by the operation of the new Constitution they were excluded from the electorate on account of race and color, while all white men possessing the same qualifications were admitted, and invoked the equity powers of the United States Courts to prevent such discrimination, relying for their authority on the fifteenth amendment. The Federal Supreme Court in denying relief on the ground that it had not the power to act, went out of its way and erroneously assumed, in order to justify its position, that the petitioners desired the court to assist them in having their votes cast and counted at the polls, which the court decided was a political matter, cognizable only by Congress.

It is quite clear that a board of registrars, sitting to determine what persons are entitled to the right to be enrolled as electors, is quite different from the officers charged with receiving and counting votes at the polls. The first are ministerial officers, passing upon a right which the Constitution of the United States prohibits a State from denying on account of race and color, while the others are political officers charged with receiving and counting votes cast at an election, and are not contemplated by the fifteenth amendment.

Chief Justice Waite long ago decided that the fifteenth amendment did not confer the right to vote, but simply prohibited any discrimination between citizens on account of race and color (*United States vs. Reese*, 92nd U. S. 214).

It is perfectly apparent that Mr. Giles and his associates were contending for

a civil right under the fifteenth amendment, i. e., the right of equal treatment by the registrars in the matter of enrolling the electors, the right to the same treatment in determining their right to be enrolled, as extended to white men, under the same circumstances and with like qualifications. It is, therefore, perfectly obvious that the Supreme Court was grievously in error in assuming that it would have to take charge of the whole election machinery in the State of Alabama in order to grant the relief prayed for. A person admitted to the right to be registered as an elector may choose never to exercise that right, and for good reasons may never go to the polls; still, he may prize the right, and may not want to be deprived of it, on account of race and color. The court, however, sent the Negroes of Alabama to Congress for relief. It seems to be their way of disposing of the Negro by sending him elsewhere.

Again, in the case of *Mills vs. Green* (69th Fed. Rep. 865, brought against the election officers of South Carolina, to compel them to allow the petitioner to vote, decided by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals), Chief Justice Fuller, writing for the court, intimated that in a case of discrimination in the matter of civil rights, on account of race and color, equity would grant relief. The following is his language:

"It is well settled that a Court of Chancery is conversant only with matters of property, and the maintenance of civil rights. Tested by these principles the bill of complaint cannot be maintained, for it seeks on behalf of individuals to restrain the exercise of governmental powers, and asserts no threat-

ened infringement of rights of property or civil rights. No discriminations on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude is charged or pointed out, or deducible, on the face of the acts in question." It is impossible to reconcile this language with the court's ruling in the Alabama case, where discrimination on account of race and color was clearly pointed out, and we are at a loss to understand what Chief Justice Fuller meant in the case of *Mills vs. Green*.

The best explanation of the decision of the court is found in the words of Mr. Justice Holmes, in the celebrated *Northwestern Securities* case, in which he says:

"Great cases, like hard cases, make bad law. For great cases are called great, not by reason of their real importance in shaping the law of the future, but because of some accident of immediate overwhelming interest which appeals to the feelings and distorts the judgment. These immediate interests exercise a kind of hydraulic pressure which makes what previously was clear seem doubtful, and before which even well settled principles of law bend."

The South well understood the tremendous effect of race prejudice, when they systematically held up the race to the scorn and contempt of the world, by publishing us, first, as a horde of ignorant blacks, trying to dominate intelligent whites, and, afterwards, as a race of brutes and rapists. With the great newspapers of the country enlisted on their side for more than twenty years, they have succeeded in arousing such race feeling and hatred in the public mind against us, that we cannot only be tortured, mobbed and burned in the

broad open day, but the South can set at naught all the safeguards which the Constitution of the United States meant to throw around us as citizens, without any effectual protest from any quarter, and with the permission, if not the sanction, of the Supreme Court of the United States.

How to win back the public to an impartial consideration of our claim for fair and equal treatment is the immediate work of the race.

The success of this work will depend almost wholly upon ourselves. Our case might be greatly strengthened, if we could command the means and find a way to reach all of the more ignorant and vicious element of the race throughout the land, and impress upon them that the whole race is judged by their acts, and could succeed in converting them into intelligent, industrious, honest and upright men and women. But it is unreasonable to expect such a herculean task to be accomplished in forty years, in our condition, and with the means at our command. Race prejudice, however, is always unreasonable; and, were we to succeed in such a task, the history of race prejudice proves that improvement in the condition and prospects of its victims only intensifies it. But our improvement along these lines would serve to bring down upon the heads of those who persecuted the innocent the swifter vengeance of heaven. It was this idea which Shakespeare meant to convey when he made Cardinal Wolsey say:

"Let all the ends thou aimst at be thy country's, Thy God's, and truth's; then, if thou fall'st, Thou fall'st a blessed martyr."

Should Ministers of the Gospel Take an active Part in Politics?

BY REV. J. M. BODDY

MINISTERS of the Gospel, are supposed to be men called of God, with a regenerated personality, heralds of truth and righteousness; and the minister's message is the word of God, which is to be made the power of God unto salvation. The minister's calling in life is to persuade men to act, in reference to the things of God, because the preacher, in his sermons, speaks in the name and by the authority of God. His message is from God, having for its main purpose to bring the truth of God to influence the character and conduct of men, women and children. This was the conception in the mind of the prophet Jeremiah, who speaking in behalf of the Lord to an erring people, says: "Turn, O backsliding children, I will bring you to Zion, and I will give you pastors according to mine heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding"—(Jeremiah, iii, 15). The Apostle Saul, writing to the Ephesian elders, says: "Feed the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood." (Acts, xx, 28).

Another important element in the minister's work is expressed by the intrepid Apostle Paul, in his letter to Timothy, urging him to "do the work of an evangelist and make full proof of thy ministry" (II Timothy, iv, 5). Teaching the people in the things concerning God and the duty to one's fellowman, is

another distinct function of the ministry. Such was the idea, when the preachers, in Nehemiah's day, "Read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused the people to understand the reading" (Neh. viii, 8). This was also in the mind of the Lord, who commissioned the Apostles to "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." (Matthew, xxviii, 19-20).

The conversion of the impenitent is the primary object of the preacher's message. He is a watchman on the walls of Zion, saying, "Turn ye, turn ye; why will ye die, O house of Israel." Then, when sinners are brought within the fold, it is the minister's additional duty to build the believer up in the most holy faith. This he does, if he aims to feed the people with the sincere "milk of the word" or "meat of the gospel." And, then, when the minister, in his pastoral visits (Acts v, 42) ceases not to "teach and preach" (I Corinthians, xvi, 19) or visiting the homes of sorrow to comfort the sick and the dying, he is following his calling.

Our Lord and his apostles, Nehemiah and the Prophet Jeremiah, lived in a time when there was considerable political excitement; yet, none of them embroiled themselves or the Apostolic Church in politics. The minister, who,

after he "has been seen" by some one from the "speakers' bureau," or "county committee," believes that he is "called" to take an active part in politics, should read the word of God, which is recorded in Mark's Gospel (xii, 17): "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God, the things that are God's." The exegesis of this passage of Scripture, if correctly interpreted, teaches that the salvation of souls from hell and torment is of far more importance than meddling in partisan politics by "gentlemen of the cloth." The Apostle Paul, who was most influential in planting churches in Europe, also says to the wisdom seeking Greeks: "I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified." (II Corinth. ii, 2). And yet, it is one of the vagaries for some ministers to take an active part in partisan politics.

The minister's calling is to care for and cure souls; to shepherd the flock, of which he is an overseer. If, however the minister takes an active part in politics, he comes in competition, perhaps, with the "district leader," "workers," and "ward-heelers"—who, by the way, might be some "preacher's steward," elder, deacon or vestryman of some other church. This, then, is bound to produce friction or generate personal bickering. Why? Because the minister, in the first place, has a regular salary paid to him by his church and congregation, and, when he accepts "engagements," he is taking the chance away from the layman. There are plenty of young men, worthy and capable of meeting the requirements of the party, who, when the minister steps in are crowded out of opportunities which belong to men in

civil life. The world will soon get the idea that the ministry "wants the earth," when in reality the preacher who sticks his nose into active politics, does so, not because he loves his race; not because he is serving his Lord; not for the good of the people or the furtherance of the kingdom of God, in the hearts of dying men and women; but the minister goes into it for what he can get out of it, via the Treasurer-of-the-County-Committee.

Grant that there may be a "moral issue" at stake. The preacher can better serve the interest of the kingdom of God by edifying the moral tone of his congregation. Then the men will do their duty without being urged by partisan "workers." Again, if a clergyman take an active part in politics, he invariably becomes a partisan, and he may have in his congregation men of opposite political affiliations, whose support and sympathy in church work and church life he may alienate; or he may even cause a split in the church, as very recently occurred in New York City.

In an important city on the Atlantic coast, there was a committee of gentlemen appointed by some sort of authority to wait upon the chairman of the National Committee, with a view to having the race represented in some important position. Before they went a list of names was decided upon by the "boys," in case they should be asked to name their man. While the committee was waiting for a private interview, some of them noticed that one of the preachers had a large bundle of letters addressed to the National Chairman.

"Doctor, what are those letters?" an inquisitive member of the committee asked.

"Why, these are Mr. So-and-So's letters. If you want them, here they are," was the preacher's reply.

Of course, he knew that none of the committee would take or open Mr. So-and-So's letters. Then the visiting committee was ushered into the august presence, and had a very pleasant interview. As they were leaving the headquarters, the gentleman of the cloth handed the National Chairman the letters, which afterwards proved to be letters of indorsement from white prelates and white business men of his own denomination recommending him for the position. Here, then, the minister whose duty it was to preach salvation to dying men and women, and who was supposed to be a teacher of righteousness and godly living, practiced one of the meanest of little tricks of deception upon men who honored him with their confidence. As a result of his chicanery, the reverend Doctor was the recipient of the appointment which rightly should have gone to a layman. Such treachery and deception certainly minimizes the influence of a preacher as a herald of truth and righteousness.

If the leaders of the various political parties would thoroughly organize every "district," "county," etc., with regular officers and have stated meetings, and then decree that when any partisan work is to be done, it should be through, by and with the consent of the "club," perhaps bright, active young men—who do not draw salaries from churches, or perquisites from weddings—might have a chance to get something to do.

The only way to hold our young men in any party is, not to give them drinks and cigars at clubs, but to give them

something honorable to do. We have to-day a higher grade of young men than we have ever had. They are bright, educated and worthy. Now, as two-thirds of the attendance at the various churches is composed of women, these women should see to it that their sons, brothers or sweethearts are not crowded to the wall in civil affairs by the preacher, and, as a result, I believe, more of our young men could be "landed" instead of being "seen" on or before election day. As has been, those interested in the welfare of their party, of whatever political complexion it may be, seeing that they can work the people through the preachers, learn to distrust the race. Besides, a true leader will not allow himself to be "fixed" or "seen" by any influence whatsoever, but will spend and be spent for his loyal followers.

The preacher is an ambassador of Christ, who seeks to persuade men to think and act in reference to the things of heaven, but "Woe be unto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep" (Jeremiah xxiii, 1), like the hireling of which we read in John's Gospel, because they seek to "feed themselves" (Ezekial, xxxiv, 2, 3, 8) on worldly jobs.

If a minister takes an active part in politics, how can he make a conscientious study of Biblical, didactic, exegetical, polemical, systematic and pastoral theology? If the minister would feed the church of God he must continually study his Greek Exegesis, English and Hebrew Bible; archaeology, theism, sacred rhetoric, sacred geography, church history, church government, apologetics, etc. Then, the well-informed clergyman, the true pastor, would neither have the time nor the inclination to go around and do the

stunts of a partisan stump-speaker. But the science of religion and theology is something different from the science of politics. Politics is simply the science of government, having to do with the civil phases of life. It has to do with a knowledge of law, industry and manufactures, commerce, finance, education and whatever else affects the material welfare of civil society. As Aristotle says: "Man is a political animal." Political affairs consist of more than "delivering

the goods." Politics by no means needs to be corrupt, but men in the parties may be, of the same faith and order as the crooked post rail fence. It is the mission of the church, and not of politics, to straighten men's morals. The minister who takes an active part in politics and is engaged in settled pastoral work at the same time simply tries to ride two horses in opposite directions,—a feat which no circus clown has ever yet been able to accomplish.

AS ROMEO WAS IN JULIET'S POWER

By T. THOMAS FORTUNE

The savage chief, under the spell
Of love, howe'er he may rebel,
Pursues no more th' exciting chase,
Nor courts war's unforbidding face,
Nor lingers by the rambling stream
Or slumberous lake's unruffled dream;
But spends his hours the woods among,
Stolid, by soft desires unstrung!
And all his fancies colored are
By rays of Love's resplendent star,—
A god or devil, in the shade
Primeval, by his passion made!
His dusky choice becomes a queen,

Present to him in every scene;
Eclipsing all of womankind
In form and face and gifts of mind,
With eyes in which he clearly reads
Th' inspiration of heroic deeds;
His narrow world grows narrower still
While yielding to her gentle will;
And he is happier, manlier, far,
Than when the chase or barbarous war
Called him o'er winding dale and hill
His rude mission in the world to fill.
Love made him for a fleeting hour
As Romeo was in Juliet's power.



Social Development in the Black Belt

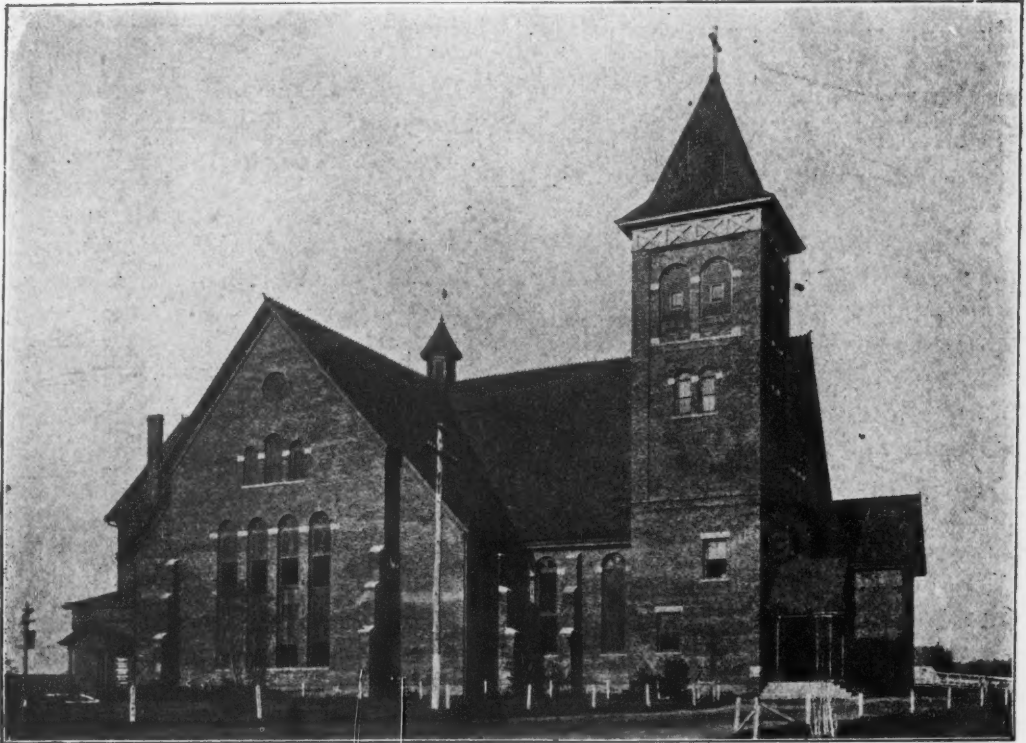
BY ROSCOE CONKLING BRUCE

IN speaking of the Negro peasantry in the Alabama Black Belt, a writer in the last issue of the *YALE REVIEW* remarks: "The region around Tuskegee is notably less degraded than similar districts fifty miles away. Its radius is plain for at least ten miles. The number of one-room cabins for that distance is very small, and many farmers have patent seeders and other simple machinery, and they are fairly provided with cattle." The relatively prosperous condition of the Negro peasantry in the neighborhood of Tuskegee Institute is again and again remarked by critical visitors, especially Southerners, who have some reasonable standard of comparison. This notable rise in the level of life of the Macon County Negro, Principal Washington has been able to effect (1) by enrolling students from families in the country; and (2) by the tactful use of various devices to stimulate the farmers and their wives directly,—the Mothers' Meetings, conducted in the town of Tuskegee and at Russell Plantation; the Bulletins issued by the Agricultural Department; the Monthly Farmers' Conferences; and the better known, more picturesque and more widely effective Annual Farmers' Conferences. It is of the people who flock to the Farmer's Annual Conferences that I shall speak.

But no proper appreciation of the meaning of these annual conferences is possible until one begins to understand their social setting. At the last Census

the Negroes formed 45.2 per cent. of the population of Alabama. In a group of 21 selected counties,—those that are ordinarily designated as the Black Belt,—the Negroes constituted 67.7 per cent. of the total population. In 13 of these counties the Negroes constitute over 70 per cent. of the population; in 7 of them over 80 per cent. Not only this, but these predominantly black counties tend almost invariably to get blacker; social ostracism and harsh treatment are said by some to drive the Negroes together for mutual support, and on general principles, I suppose, "birds of a feather flock together." And so we see way down here in Alabama the same phenomenon that we are familiar with in the urban North, the herding of the Negro population.

This very Macon county is a good illustration. In 1880 there were 2.8 per cent. Negroes to one white in the county; in 1890, 3.3 per cent. Negroes to one white; and in 1900, 4.5 per cent. Negroes to one white. Since 1890 the county has grown in population over 25 per cent., this increase being, of course, due entirely to the Negro element. That the Negro is economically better off where the presence of whites offer him example of thrift and energy is become a truism among students of Negro problems, and hence the incalculable importance in these black belts of industrial missions like Tuskegee; they are a pledge that on American soil Haytian conditions shall



THE NEW CHAPEL, IN WHICH CONFERENCES ARE HELD

not be reproduced. They mould the younger generation, and stimulate and guide the older.

Thirteen Annual Farmers' Conferences have been held, and at the Twelfth some statistical data were gathered. The total number of persons attending that session was in the neighborhood of 1500, and of these the enumerators were able to register 503. The purpose of the conference is, of course, to come at the heads of family; the Conference is a means of utilizing the insight of the shrewdest of these older men and women for the benefit of all, and of impressing the stupid and the shrewd alike with modern ideas upon farming and wholesome views of life and living. And so 59 per cent. of the 503 persons registered were male

heads of families. Almost every county in Alabama was represented, and all of the States of the lower South.

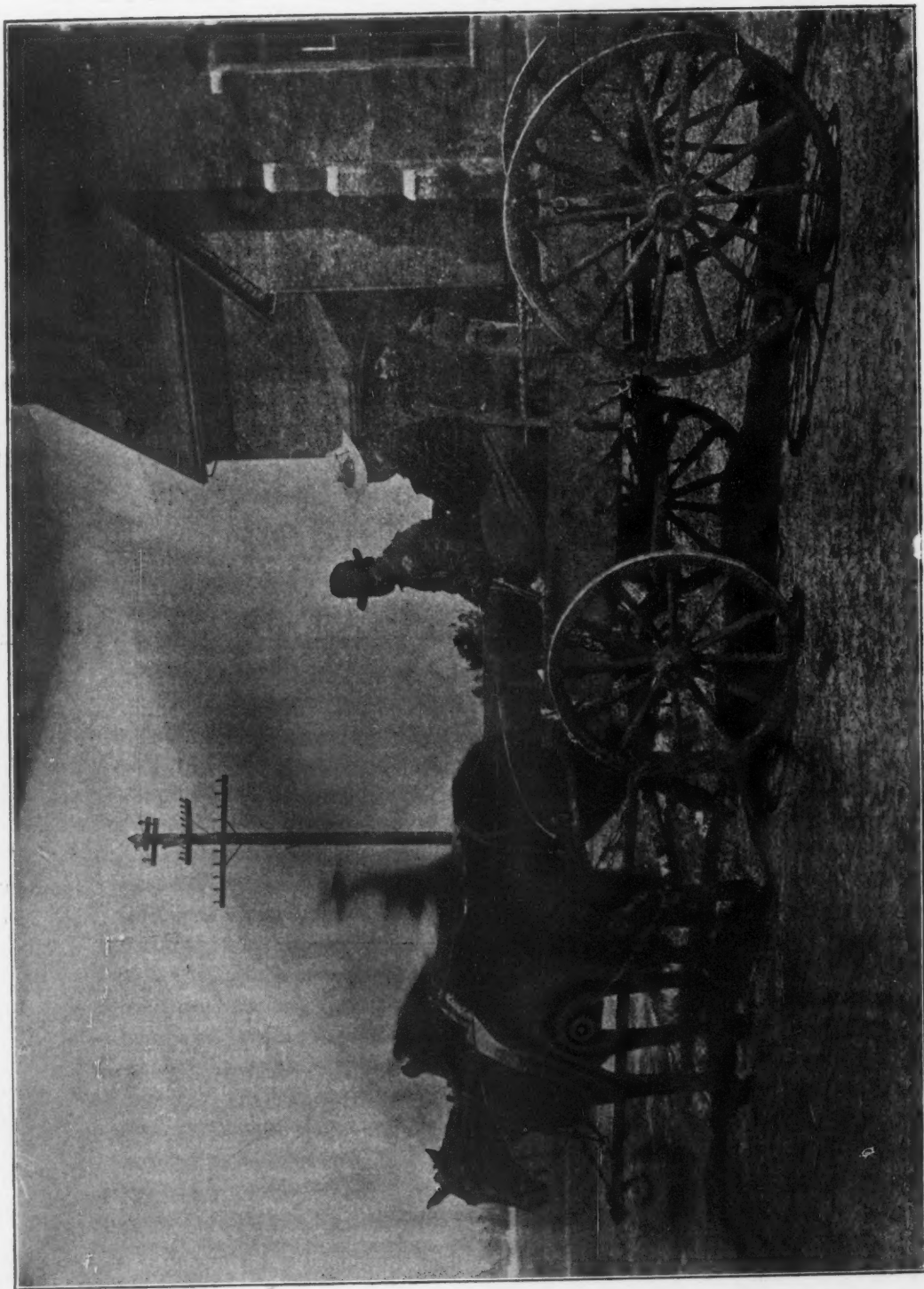
In view of the fact that for so many years the Conference has utilized every resource to stimulate the Negroes in the black belt to increase the efficiency of the rural schools, the answers to the enquiry as to "length of school term in Negro school nearest your residence," are interesting. At the earlier conference it was found, in the words of Principal Washington, "that in what is known as the Black Belt of the South, the schools lasted in most cases but three months." The statistics of this recent Conference happily show that at the schools available to only 11 per cent. of the 309 families were the terms three months or less;



VISITORS AT THE CONFERENCE

to 14.9 per cent. they were four months; to 25.2 per cent., five months; to 10.7 per cent., six months; and to 38.2 per cent. more than six months! Now, for only 11 per cent. of the schools to last but three months, and 38.2 per cent. to last more than six months, registers an advance in civilization,—an advance largely attributable to the annual Tuskegee Negro Conferences. At the Tenth Conference, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois reached the conclusion that in the case of over 25 per cent. of the schools, the patrons voluntarily contributed taxes, which lengthened the term from one to two months each year; and a very careful study of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Conferences convinces me that the support of the Negro rural schools through voluntary

local taxation is increasingly popular and effective. In tragic contrast with these opportunities for the young men and women, the boys and girls of to-day, is the naked fact that 42 per cent. of the heads of family answering the question had had in all their lives no schooling at all! In further illustration of the meager opportunities of the older folks, I may point out that of 239 heads of family only 56.9 per cent. could both read and write; 7.1 per cent. could only read, and 36 per cent. could neither read nor write. In evidence of the increasing efficiency of the schools, one should note that only 16.8 per cent. of the males 20 to 29 years of age were wholly illiterate, as against 20.3 per cent. of those 30 to 39 years of age. To these conferences peo-



THIS FAMILY HAS COME MANY MILES



A FAMILY TURNOUT

ple,—Mr. Washington's children, every one,—I would apply the words by which Shakespeare described the minutes of our life: "In ceaseless toil all forward do contend."

As to the distribution of the Conference people among the various occupations, the important thing to note is that 69.7 per cent. of the heads of family were engaged in agriculture, and 44.7 per cent. of the individuals, or 60.8 per cent. of the 503 persons; 13.9 per cent. of the total number of persons being preachers and teachers, but mainly teachers. As illustrating some aspects of the contrast between the rural Negro of the South and the urban Negro of the North, it may be worth while to mention that 89.4 per cent. of the Negroes who have re-

sided in Massachusetts one year but under ten years, are to-day engaged in domestic and personal service, as against 12.2 per cent. at the Conference group. *De gustibus non disputandum!*

Certainly, there is infinitely more opportunity here in the South for independent business managers. I cannot forbear to mention with some particularity some of these entrepreneurs who reported at the Conference. There was a barber, whose earnings average \$50 per month; two blacksmiths, whose earnings average \$2 and \$2.75 per day, and a blacksmith whose trade brings him \$2.25 a day, but who runs a truck farm in addition; a woman who keeps a boarding house, which nets her about \$60 a month; a contractor and builder, who

averages \$50 a month the year around. A director of a ginning company earns during the ginning season over \$80 per month. Three merchants report earnings per month respectively of \$40, \$100, and \$175. A newspaper publisher affirms that his precarious calling nets him \$70 a month; and a president of a society which gives death and sick benefits receives about \$150 a month. Assuming that some of these business managers considerably overstate their earnings, I think it safe to believe that their rather exceptional enterprise is winning substantial rewards.

As to the prosperity of the farmer, suffice it to say that the percentage of them who ended the farming season less than \$25 in debt, even, or ahead, was 73.2 per cent. An investigation of 271 families in Georgia (see W. E. B. DuBois in the *WORLD'S WORK* for June, 1901), for the season of 1898, showed a corresponding figure of 56.4 per cent. The better showing of the Tuskegee Conference people is in part, perhaps, due to better prices of cotton, but, I think, in larger part due to better industrial conditions.

At the earlier Conferences, says Principal Washington, it was found that at least fourth-fifths of the people in many counties were living in one-room cabins,

on rented land. At the Twelfth Conference 1,885 persons, comprising 324 families, were reported to live in 1,115 rooms,—an average of 1.66 persons to one room, and of 3.44 rooms to a family. Twenty-four families, or 7.5 per cent., occupied one room; 98, or 30.8 per cent., two rooms; 70, or 22.1 per cent., three rooms; 44, or 13.8 per cent, four rooms; 33, or 10.5 per cent., five rooms; 21, or 6.6 per cent, six rooms; and the rest, mostly town dwellers, more than six rooms. Over one-half of the families reported occupied two or three rooms. Of 297 male heads of family 129 lived in homes which they owned; and 118 of them owned other land or houses. After all qualifications are made it must be admitted that this is an admirable showing. Forty-seven and four tenths per cent. of these homes had been owned ten years or more, and 68.1 per cent. five years or more.

No one who glances at these facts will hesitate to affirm that the Conference has proved an effective instrument in the masterly hands of Tuskegee's great Principal for inducing the Negroes of the Black Belt periodically to take account of stock and to plan for the future; and for diffusing wholesome views of life and living. Tuskegee Institute is a great uplifting force of civilization.



Success in Life

BY PROF. ALEXANDER HAWKINS.

DURING my Western trip I met a number of my friends, who had moved there, bought homes and settled down. Among them was a schoolmate whom I had loved as a brother. All my family loved him. Ten years after, when we had both become young men and started out for ourselves he thought he would like to go West, but I preferred the North, where I was born and reared. I never believe in going away from home when there is a living to be made at home. Though some young men cannot prosper as well at home as they can abroad; but the future of any man depends upon himself wherever he may go.

A young man never realizes the benefit of valuable things unless they come hard. A horse can pull a wagon down the hill easier than he can up the hill. So it is that a man has a hard time to make himself a successful man through life. He must take the advice of a good wife, for a man's success depends, in a great measure, upon a good, true wife; one who will study his interest and point out his mistakes, for a man cannot make a success in life unless he has a guide. There are many men whose lives have been wrecked by untrue wives. It follows then that a young man should be very careful whom he selects for a life companion, for it is almost impossible to climb an inclined plane. Be sure you are right then go ahead. Never feel that you know enough for a man can

learn something new every day of his life. So a business man becomes more thoroughly versed in business methods by the experiences each day brings to him.

Liquor is the ruin of the world. It destroys more noble young men and women than anything else. The successful business man is he who never drinks, for it is a habit that once acquired is hard to break. There are thousands of men and women beneath the sod who died from over indulgence in strong drink. Children and mothers are hungry, homes have been broken up because money has been wasted for liquor.

There are many men who sit and wish for a fortune. No man gains a fortune by wishing for it. It is only by hard toil and the sweat of a man's brow that he can make a success of his future in life. When a man sits and wishes for a fortune it is time lost. A man should make use of his young days, for when he is old and gray-headed it is too late to start out to gain a fortune. A man at the age of forty-five goes backward instead of forward. A man should be highly honored who makes a success in this life, for it is no easy thing to do. It is like the man who dies; no one knows the sting of death, but he who pays the debt. It is necessary for a man who is wealthy to be close with his own, for he knows how difficult it was to accumulate a little, and how easy it is to lose all he has.

I would advise every young man to see the world if he can. A man with experience, generally speaking, goes through life without much trouble. All young men after finishing school should become thoroughly acquainted with their native land and tour foreign countries if they can. It is not impossible for a young man of to-day to visit every land under the sun if he utilizes his opportunities. There is always a chance to work one's way on steam or cattle ships. It would be much better for him in life. He would always have something instructive to think of and to talk about. He would know the customs of all countries and the fundamental principles of all governments, thus becoming a valuable citizen of any land.

There are many young men and women who are not able to write letters of any kind. All young people should be able to write a good business letter; but very few can do it. All young men and women should have a course of training in business, for we are not thoroughly accomplished in life without a business training. It is the business man who rules. To be successful in business you must also learn how to be economical. Then, again, you cannot expect to gain a fortune in a few weeks, for it takes time for a business to grow. Let us also remember that a lazy man cannot make a business success. Successful business men are alert and active, and their wives must equal them in activity. The Italian comes to this country and in a short time is rich. Why? Because their wives labor with them; day after day they toil. After awhile the man will go into business for himself; he will

first start with a small push cart, peddling in the streets; he begins on a small scale, content to rise a little at a time; he will soon have a fruit stand on some corner; in a few years he will have store and the people wonder how he gets up so quickly. There is nothing wonderful about it; it is the inevitable result of a fixed plan. It is true they can live on less than any other people in the world. An Italian will live on ten cents a day and work hard. While we do not advise our young people to follow this plan, we do advise them to gather knowledge from their frugality. The Jews are the richest people in America and almost the leading business people in the country to-day. Why? Because the Jew starts on a small scale and comes up a little at a time. A child crawls before he walks. The first thing a mother teaches a child to say when he begins to talk is papa and mama, and the first thing a foreigner does when he comes to this country is to learn how to speak the English language, and the next is to learn how to count English money. Then he starts out to become his own boss. We wonder how he gets rich so quickly after coming to this country. It is because he struggles so hard to have a business of his own and success crowns his efforts. A man who starts out determined to make a success of his efforts is like a horse that starts up hill with a wagon heavy laden. It takes a faithful horse to draw the wagon up without balking, and so it is with a man; he must be firm in his determination to succeed; if he is not he will be likened to the foolish one who built his house upon the sand. Build a firm foundation before starting and success is sure.

Evils of European Emigration

BY JOHN L. WALLER, JR.

WITH the possible exception of those from England and Germany, nine-tenths of the European emigrants who flock to our shores year after year are an undesirable element—an element which either through extreme poverty or lawlessness is forced to abandon its native country.

Coming into the nation as paupers who must work or starve, they readily afford a means by which commercial institutions may obtain cheap labor, thereby depriving native born Americans of the opportunity to work which is justly theirs. The entrance of any considerable number of these emigrants into a community is generally a signal for reduction in wages. It matters little to corporations whether or not native Americans are thrown out of employment. All they desire is cheap labor and whether or not such labor is furnished by Americans or foreigners is a matter which gives them little concern. No one thing has been more favorable to the organization and growth of trusts in the United States than the cheap labor furnished by European emigrants. Under conditions demanding a better price for toil their rapid growth in so short a period would have been impracticable.

But the deplorable fact that the emigrant degrades labor is only one of the evil effects caused by his presence in such large numbers. The increasing number of strikes involving loss of life and damage to property year after year are

becoming so serious to law and order that some action by the government to put a stop to a practice which in future years might even endanger the security of the nation itself is worthy of serious consideration. The danger is not so much in the strikes themselves with their attendant disasters, but in the spirit which actuates them—the spirit of anarchy brought from Europe by a dissatisfied and restless element whose very nature is prone to violence. What may be expected in the future if we permit the seed of anarchy to be sown throughout the nation? That it will speedily bear fruit is evidenced by the bloodshed and destruction which has already occurred and the fact that most of the trouble has been in communities largely populated by foreign elements is too significant to require any review of circumstances. The spirit of anarchy has been so injected into labor unions whose members are largely foreigners that it is often impossible for non-union men to work without endangering their lives, for it often happens that large firms are suddenly met by demands for higher wages from the very foreign element for which they have turned down native Americans. These demands are sometimes unreasonable, but when firms so handicapped attempt to employ non-union men, the assistance of the militia becomes at once necessary to restore order. Thus it is seen that the emigrant is often a menace as well as a benefit to

the firms who profit by his cheap labor and a menace to labor itself because of his liability to be swayed by revolting passions which render him an uncertain element. In the eyes of the average emigrant, labor unions are institutions to protect their members in violent deeds against law and order rather than to afford mutual protection against corporations. He construes them to be built upon the same principles as the anti-government organizations in Europe to which he has probably belonged and enters them in the same spirit. That the principle which often attempts by brute force to prevent men from earning an honest living because they are not members of unions is contrary to the spirit of personal liberty cannot be denied. Imagine an honest, law-abiding native son murdered in cold blood, by foreigners, in his own country, for seeking to earn bread for his family! Who will deny that this practice works evil alike to the laborer, to commerce, and to the nation whose laws are defied?

The native born American is naturally a peacefully inclined man who holds the law in deep reverence. He is intelligent and reasonable and inclines to arbitral solutions of all difficulties. It is not in his nature to encourage such wanton destruction of life as has been witnessed in many instances during the past few years. By restricting emigration, placing labor at a staple price and giving preference to native sons wherever there is work to do, the serious trouble to the government and the inconvenience to commerce which often result would soon decrease to the minimum.

The Chinese who are restricted in entering the country are no more dan-

gerous to its welfare than the anarchists from Europe. The one is peaceful and law-abiding; the other fiery and violent. If the restriction upon the one is justified to protect the nation, why would it not be equally just to restrict the other for the same if not for more vital reasons? It may be argued that America contains abundant natural resources to sustain a largely increased population and that the entrance of European emigrants contribute to the development of the country, but it should be remembered that the days of pioneer emigrants have long since passed. They no longer go to the soil for their daily bread but flock to the already overcrowded cities and immediately proceed to deprive native Americans of employment by offering themselves at cheap prices. The natural results are reductions in wages, strikes, riots and bloodshed.

Some argue that a law restricting emigration would be looked upon as an unfriendly act by European powers, but it is a well known fact that no European power would permit such indiscriminate emigration into its domains as is now allowed by the United States Government. As a matter of fact, Europe is well pleased to be rid of that element which threatens her peace and well being and whether a law of restriction would be viewed favorably or unfavorably should be of little consideration when we are faced by the clear and undisputed fact that some of the worst element of Europe is being dumped upon us at will. It is very true that a small percentage of these emigrants are respectable, honest and well meaning people, but the fact cannot be successfully disputed that a large majority of them are of the opposite

character. As one of the results of this system it has been found that a majority of the violent crimes in large cities are committed by foreign elements.

There is still another view of this question which merits no little thought. Such of these emigrants who by their thrift and intelligence are able to succeed in life are eligible to hold responsible positions in the Federal, State and Municipal governments throughout the nation. Thousands of them enter the army and navy and to-day there is no nation on earth that has so many foreigners mingled in its national affairs as the United States. Is this condition of affairs safe to our future welfare? To-day we are at peace with the world, but in

the event of war with a strong European power or perhaps more than one power which might involve internal dissensions, what disaster could not befall us with our army and navy filled with foreigners and foreigners exercising partial control of our politics?

The United States is a young and rising nation, not yet in her zenith. The eyes of the world are upon her. In her onward march she may yet need the loyal blood of native born sons to protect her from European aggression.

We should now begin to fortify ourselves against an evil which might cause our downfall, even after we have reached the highest rounds of national development.



Enterprises in Birmingham, Alabama

MR. JOHN H. JONES established a prosperous business twelve years ago, and has been known for many years as one of the leading grocers. He carries a stock of the choicest goods and handles them with consummate skill and taste and in so doing has established an exceedingly successful trade. He began with a capital of \$117 and at present is valued at \$3,000. The amount of business done a year is \$5,500. He has three clerks and two porters. Mr. Jones owns real estate to the amount of \$2,450. He owns his wagons and also his horse and buggy, and also a large share in a beautiful park in this city owned and controlled by colored people.

Mr. A. J. Fletcher, who is doing a thriving business in this city, began with a capital of \$65 in 1893. His present stock is valued at \$750, and the volume of business done per annum is \$6,000. Mr. Fletcher is sure to be even more successful, for his prospects at this time are very encouraging. He employs one clerk and a porter. He owns a public hall and other real estate to the amount of \$1,500.

Mr. Robert Aulston established a grocery business in 1901, which by skillful management has been very successful. He began with a capital of \$175 and is now carrying a stock of \$750. He owns a horse and buggy and is married. Mr. Aulston is a young man and we have many reasons to be proud of him.

Mrs. E. A. Aurks, a widow, although only twenty-two years old, began business for herself in 1902 with a capital of \$600 which has been increased and the stock is now worth \$900. She enjoys a good patronage which is shown by her sales of the past year amounting to \$12,000. She has one of the most successful grocery stores in the city, which is largely due to its location. Her profits alone in the past year were \$1,000. She has one clerk and one porter. Her personal property is \$2,000, omitting horse and wagon; she also owns real estate.

Messrs. McDuffie & Callier do a flourishing grocery business at Avondale. They opened business in 1897 with a capital of \$350 and are fast achieving success. The stock is worth now \$1,950 and the volume of business yearly is \$8,000. They employ two clerks and a porter, own their horse and wagon. Both men are married and own real estate.

Mr. J. W. Davis began business in 1900 with a capital of \$29.29 and with a steadily increasing business. The stock is worth \$250 and the business done a year is \$2,000. Mr. Davis is thrifty and has a large and highly pleased list of customers.

Messrs. Jackson and Johnson opened a grocery business in 1902 with a capital of \$250. The stock is now worth \$300. They are slowly but surely coming to the top, as the business done the first

year of their experience was \$1,200. They own real estate to the amount of \$1,600. They have one horse and a wagon.

Mrs. Belle Grant opened a grocery business in 1902. She began with a capital of \$50 and her stock is now worth \$450. She owns her store and has a delivery wagon, horse and buggy. She has only been established one year, business done \$1,200.

Messrs. Chatman & Co., opened a small grocery business in 1893 with a capital of \$25. This has been increased until it is now \$500, and they have since moved into their own store. The volume of business done annually is \$2,000. They own one horse, buggy and wagon and employ two clerks.

The following is the report submitted to Bradstreet & Co. by W. P. Smith & Son: Business established in 1895; merchandise at cost, \$1,000; insurance on merchandise, \$1,600; cash on hand in bank, \$2,200; notes and accounts receivable at actual value, \$900; fixtures, \$150; owns a home, \$3,000; insurance on homestead, \$1,400; other real estate, \$1,000; sales per annum, \$12,000; total indebtedness, \$800. This is one of the most successful firms in the city. They carry an extensive stock of goods and do business among white and colored.

Mr. James Allen opened a business in 1901 with \$150 capital. His present stock is worth \$500. The volume of business done per year is \$2,500. He is a man of family.

Messrs. P. J. & L. E. Harris started a grocery business in 1896 with a capital of \$32; now they have a stock of about \$1,200. The volume of business per annum is \$10,000. The personal prop-

erty of these young men is \$800. They own real estate to the amount \$2,000, are reliable and do an excellent business.

Mr. Frank D. Hooks has an extensive trade in the market business. He carries the choicest meats and the cleanest place of business of its kind in this city. He is thrifty and his strictly business management of the market causes him to enjoy the popularity that he does. He is also very polite and if any one succeeds Mr. Hooks, will be the man.

Mr. S. Dinkens began in the market business in 1902, with a capital of \$100. The stock now carried is \$600. The volume of business per annum is \$5,200. Everything done on a cash basis. Has horse, buggy and wagon. Owns a beautiful home and has a family. Real estate worth \$2,000.

The Great Southern Home Industrial Association was organized in 1899, with a capital of about \$50. Since that time the business has increased, and Mr. W. L. Lauderdale, who is president and general manager, owns all the stock. Amount of business written is \$100,000. The claims paid in the past year amount to \$14,882.88. They have forty-two branches and as many superintendents. This is not only a relief association but is doing much toward the solving of the race problem, by giving employment to more than two hundred young men and women. This company is doing a good business, and we judge them not from the heights to which they have climbed but the depths from whence they came.

The People's Mutual Aid Association was established in 1892. The capital at that time was \$500. The founders were Dr. U. G. Mason, J. O. Diffay and J. C. Barker. The present valuation of stock

is \$2,500. The business written is \$10,000. This company, though very young, paid for sickness, accident and death, over \$2,250. This company employs a larger force of agents at the Home Office than any other company in the State. It is the first and only company that pays for all classes of female diseases.

Mr. Robert Jackson has had twelve years of a successful business life in Birmingham. He started with little or no capital and is now conducting a large prosperous business, giving employment to six competent tailors. He has a home worth \$2,000. His business is valued at \$500. He is a man of family.

The Mabry Brothers began business in 1901 with a capital of \$100. The success that has attended the efforts of these enterprising and industrious young men, is a matter of just recognition of merit. The business done per year is \$8,000. They employ three first-class tailors and one porter. They have real estate worth \$2,000. Their liabilities amount to \$60. The insurance on stock is \$800. They do a first-class work and have a large and growing patronage, keeping them and their force busy.

One of the most noted real estate owners of our city is Mr. W. D. Lane, who is in his forty-first year. His school advantages have been very limited. It has only been by thrift, industry and economy that he has accumulated seventy-four unimproved lots valued at \$29,600; forty-eight houses and lots valued at \$38,400. He has personal property amounting to \$1,000. He has many horses and hacks.

Mr. Frank McCree, a native of Alaba-

ma, started business on a small scale and he is now one of the most successful business men in this city. He is the proprietor of one of the largest and best managed shops in the city. The place is elegantly fitted up, runs nine chairs, each barbar making on a chair from \$35 to \$40 per week. He employs five porters who also make good wages. The present value of the shop is \$3,500. The volume of business done per annum is \$14,000. He is worth in personal property and real estate \$9,500. He is single and is a representative business man and is respected by all who know him.

The firm of J. O. & F. M. Diffay opened business in 1899, with a capital of \$400. They have changed quarters and at present the valuation of the shop is \$1,200. They employ nine workmen and do a business of \$3,000 per year. The firm is free from all liabilities and each partner owns his home.

Mr. Richard Neely one of the most successful business men in our city is the proprietor of the Hotel Hillman Parlor. Mr. Neely's business and personal property are worth \$3,000. He owns real estate to the amount of \$4,000. He is a man of family and owns horse and buggy.

The People's Drug Company was opened in 1895, with but \$600. The business has increased to \$3,000 in value. The volume of business per annum is \$8,000. They employ four clerks. The liabilities are \$250. I. B. Kight, Ph. G., General manager; Dr. U. G. Mason and Dr. Crookshank, the proprietors of this drug store, own real estate worth \$20,000.



IN THE EDITOR'S SANCTUM

THE world judges men by what they do rather than what they say; and that people, that nation, which has done most since the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and the consequent diffusion of letters and the arts and sciences throughout the world, to compel the respect of mankind by achievement, by doing things, is the Anglo-Saxon race and its branches everywhere; for the English speaking person, wherever he finds himself, whatever may be his ethnic heredity, forces respect by his self-confidence and self-reliance, and by his refusal to have others do for him what he can do for himself. He is his own master, and he seeks always to master those not of his blood, with whom he comes in contact. He will not submit to obey as long as there is a prospect that he may be able ultimately to command. He is not anywhere a creature to be loved by aliens to his house, for he strives always for his own advancement and profit at the expense of others. As long as men fear him he is willing to stand for their hate, if he have sufficient force to protect himself and his interests; for it is true of the whole of them, as was once said of an Englishman,—that he would cheerfully chase a dollar around the globe if he thought there was a prospect of collecting ten per cent. interest on the homestretch. Judged from this view point it will readily be conceded that the Afro-

American people,—who are by habitat, language and religion, and by blood fusion, a part of the citizenship governed by Anglo-Saxon law, precedent, usage and ethics—need most in the basis of education, whether of State or Church, self-reliance, self-dependence, a character rounded out to make the most of favorable opportunities and to regard obstacles only as incentives to greater effort. If anything more than another gives to Dr. Washington the commanding position he enjoys in the estimation of mankind it is this, that he has unlimited confidence in himself and the supreme faculty of communicating it to others, not by words that die on the air but by results that stand out against the horizon of the Black Belt “as a light that is set upon a high hill,” that all men may see who have eyes to see with and whose intellectuals are not befogged by prejudice,—prejudice, under all circumstances, the child of insular living and mental disease. We live in times when men are rated as men, and when men who fall short of the world's standard of manhood are jeered at and shoved aside and trampled upon,—objects of contempt or of pity,—a choice of evils in which there is no more difference than “twixt tweedledum and tweedledee.”

If there has ever been an organized business effort, on the part of the Negro of this country, that should rightly and

justly command the respect and support of the entire race, it is the Afro-American Realty Company of New York. This Company is by far the largest business enterprise yet started by Negroes. It has come to its people with a practical proposition and on a sound basis. Capitalized at \$500,000 under the laws of the State of New York with \$100,000 already paid in, it now offers to the colored people of this country the remaining \$400,000 at \$10 per share.

Its proposition is to operate in New York City Realty, known the world over as the safest of all investments. It is the owner of four five-story flats valued at \$125,000, besides being the leesee of ten other flat houses. It has handsomely furnished offices on Broadway, and we understand, a very handsome balance in the bank. All this had been accomplished before the Company offered a dollar of its stock to the public. How can such a standing, such a showing of responsibility, fail to commend this Company to anyone.

Another point which the thoughtful cannot fail to notice, without favorable effect, is the class and character of the men who are at the head of this great Company. They are numbered among New York's most successful and wealthy Negro business men, who have for years enjoyed the respect and confidence of all who know them. Men who could not afford to lend their names and efforts to any undertaking not entirely right.

The objects and intentions of the Company, as set forth in its prospectus,

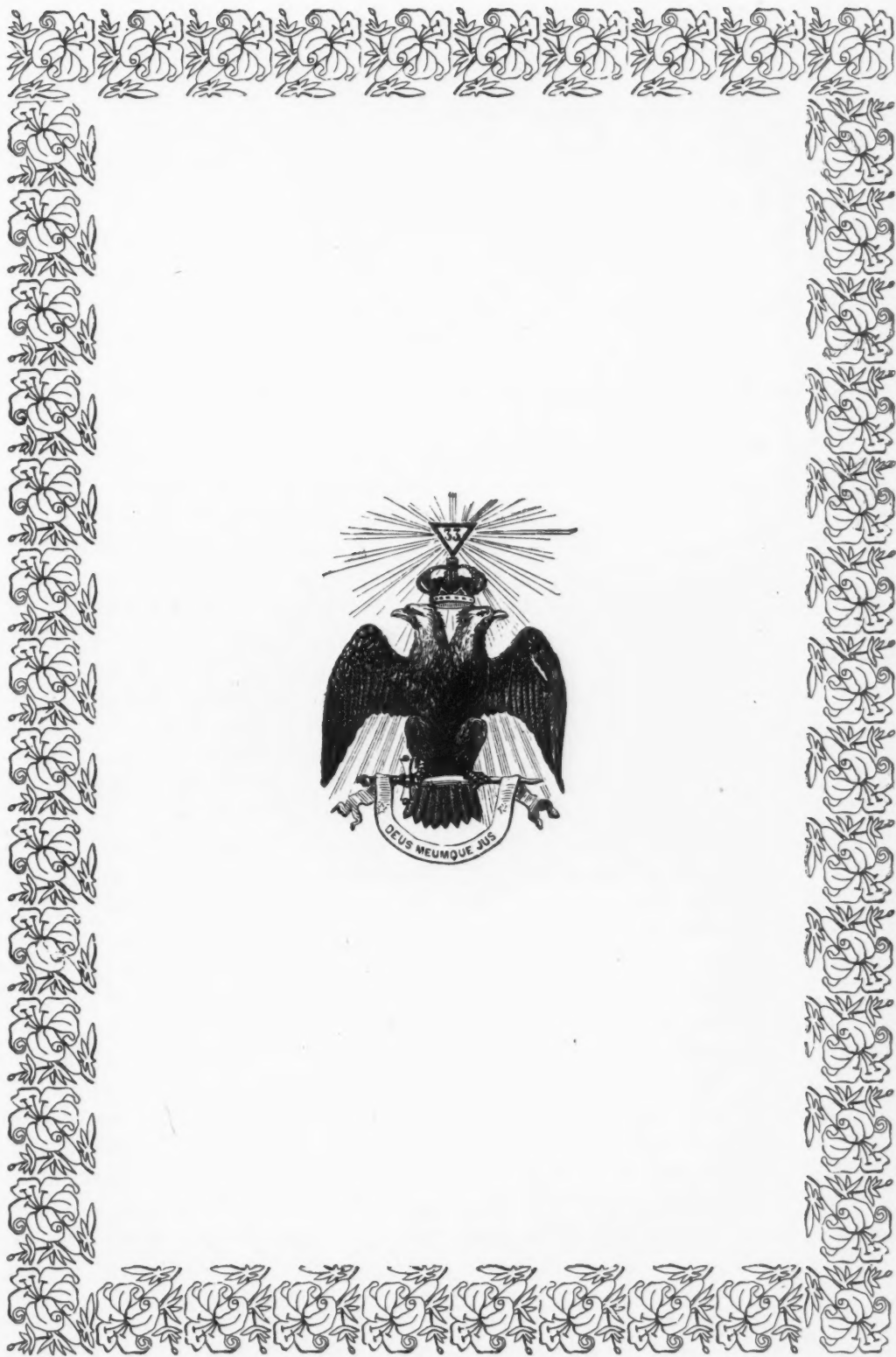
backed by the material showing already made, should and will gain for it, the co-operation of all Negroes who desire to see their race rise in the business world of this great country, and successfully measure arms with its competitors.

"Excuses for past lynchings of Negroes cannot be put forward in defence of the burning of the Georgia Negroes. The crime was committed less than three weeks before the lynching. The trial was speedy. They were sentenced three weeks after the commission of the crime. They could not escape the gallows; yet "men of wealth and worth joined in leading the mob." "Fat lightwood knots, brushwood and splinters were piled about the Negroes;" "twenty gallons of kerosene were poured over them;" "a man applied a match;" "the Negroes uttered a simultaneous groan." "Cato seemed to die harder;" "finally one of the mob smashed Cato's head open with a bludgeon."

The people who did this were not Comanche Indians but citizens of a civilized and Christian Georgia town."

NEW YORK SUN.

A community or state that permits this condition to continue, or condones the horrible punishment meted out to those convicted of crime, deserves the severest censure and condemnation. The Governor of the State should see to it that the law is vindicated and the guilty brought to justice. All men must be made to respect the law and no man should be above the law.





A New Feature Among Our Race Journals

AGREEABLE to the purpose of THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE, to be in the largest sense useful to the people, and to aid in the spread of information desired by all classes and professions, we have determined to enter a field hitherto quite unoccupied by any of our race periodicals, and to that end, have made due preparation, by securing the services of the best informed and most able of our race, as editors in this department.

With our next number, will be more formally opened, our Masonic Department, under the editorship and care of Bro. Samuel R. Scottron, of New York, a Mason of many years standing, and wellknown to the older members of the fraternity, in every part of the United States, as a York Rite Mason, and one of the highest degree known to the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

To the older and active members of the fraternity it is quite unnecessary to say, that we may expect from his own pen, and from those of the most able associates, whose names we hope in our next number to announce,—that the fra-

ternity affords, much information of the greatest possible value to the race, not only to those of our own people who have been initiated in the Ancient Mysteries, but to our white brethren, who have as a rule but little conception of the origin and legitimacy of the Masonry practiced among colored Americans.

Too many of our own people know but little, authoritatively, of our Masonic history, and are therefore liable to be weak in their assertion of facts, i. e. that Masonry among colored men in this country rests upon the precise foundation as that which obtains among white Masons, chartered by the same source, and at very nearly the same period. Being oftentimes unable to point to the record, the assertion by our people is either not made, or, so feebly made as not to carry conviction.

Too often indeed is the assertion by white men, that the Negro is incapable of continuity in the establishment of large and powerful organizations, left unrefuted upon the spot, simply because the member of the race within hearing, is not absolutely sure of his ground

when he asserts to the contrary. The full history of the Church and of Masonry among Negroes, would go far to prove to the doubter and defamer, the Negro's ability to establish and to continue successfully, in face of the most strenuous opposition, great institutions. Our Church history is quite wellknown, and has a defender in quite every pulpit. Our Masonic history is but little known comparatively, even to our own members, and it is our aim, now, to put the record of Masonry authoritatively in every hamlet, town and city of this Union, upon the table of every member of the craft, just where he may point, at any moment, to the facts of history, with satisfaction to himself and needed enlightenment to his neighbor.

To this end we shall present in our following numbers, as much each time as a limited space will allow, together with other current Masonic matter,

what we regard as the most complete history of Negro Masonry ever published, entitled *The Negro Mason in Equity*, by the late M. W. Sammel W. Clark, Grand Master of Colored Masons of the State of Ohio, 1886; a work long out of print, and having had but a limited circulation. A work that should be in the hands of every Negro Mason, and in those of every white Mason who cares to learn the facts.

Much attention will also be given to the history of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite among Negroes in the United States, and to this end we shall hope to have the attention of such of the well informed as our Illustrious Brethren, Roper, Kelly, Miller, Powell and others, of Philadelphia; Jackson, Gleaves and others, of Washington; and Watty of Baltimore, not forgetting others, great lights in Masonry.

FRED R. MOORE, Publisher.





PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENTS

MOORE PUBLISHING and PRINTING COMPANY

181 PEARL STREET
New York

FRED. R. MOORE
General Manager

IT is our purpose to publish a magazine that shall record the doings of the race along material lines, and to demonstrate to mankind generally, that we are entitled to have the door of opportunity kept wide open for us as for other men. It is our desire to make THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE a welcome visitor to the homes of the American people. Each month will find it knocking at your door, and the publisher hopes for it a cordial welcome.

YOUR attention is invited to the articles appearing in each month's issue, and we leave it to your judgment to say whether or not we are entitled to receive your continuous support.

WE invite suggestions which will lead to improvement, and we hope our patrons will not hesitate in bringing to our attention any matter they may have in mind that will prove helpful. Our aim is to please you and by doing this, the Magazine will be sure of success.

YOU will be glad to know that all of the mechanical work of construction connected with publishing the Magazine is done by members of our race. No other race magazine is the work of an entirely

colored force. Give your opinion of our handiwork by sending in your subscription and by advocating support of us by your friends.

THE magazine will publish the news items of The National Negro Business League and of the race generally throughout the country.

It is our purpose to capitalize and incorporate the MOORE PUBLISHING AND PRINTING COMPANY under the laws of the State of New York, and you are cordially invited to subscribe to its shares.

WE invite your attention to our new Masonic Department.

"Dr. Booker T. Washington has purchased 'THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE' and made Emmett J. Scott, editor."

DALLAS (Texas) EXPRESS.

WE desire to state that Dr. Washington has not purchased THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE, neither is Mr. Scott connected with its editorial department. Both gentlemen are friends of the publisher and their only interest is that of friendly support in wishing the Magazine success.

FRED. R. MOORE,
Publisher and Manager.